

# Text of Senate Committee's Findings on Ability of U.S. to Monitor Nuclear Pact

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5.—Following is the text of the nonsecret principal findings by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on the ability of the United States to monitor the treaty with the Soviet to limit nuclear weapons.

In approaching the duty given to us by the Senate to examine the ability of the intelligence community to monitor Soviet compliance with the SALT II treaty, the committee has kept in mind that our reconnaissance system cannot provide absolute certainty. In the past our monitoring system has, in some instances, underestimated the rate of deployment of some strategic weapons systems of the Soviet Union. In other instances it has overestimated the deployment of some strategic weapons systems.

Since 1970, the estimating record has improved as a direct consequence of improvements in the technical capabilities of the United States reconnaissance systems and in the intelligence community's analysis of that data. These improved technical collection and analytical capabilities have resulted in a reduction in uncertainties about the state of development, testing and deployment of Soviet strategic weapons. Because we are forced by history to bear in mind the analytic error of the "missile gap," as well as the underestimating of the rate of deployment of some strategic weapons systems, the committee has sought to provide an independent review and assessment of United States monitoring capabilities. As a result of this review, the committee has made findings with respect to the following issues:

- A. Implications of SALT I record for monitoring SALT II accords;
- B. The degree to which United States SALT II negotiating positions were based on monitoring capabilities;
- C. Providing the necessary resources for the United States monitoring system;
- D. Improved analysis;
- E. Congressional oversight; and
- F. The ability of the United States to monitor the SALT II treaty.

The subject of U.S. monitoring capabilities is so complex that senators are strongly encouraged to read and study the full text of the classified report and its accompanying attachments, in order to fully understand these brief findings.

## A. Implications of SALT I Record for Monitoring SALT II Accords

On the basis of the SALT I record, the committee believes that the Soviet Union will push to the greatest extent possible any advantages which the provisions or ambiguities of the SALT II treaty might permit. Further, the Soviet Union will probably continue to use its present concealment and deception practices, and additional concealment and deception practices may be attempted. The record also indicates, however, that the Standing Consultative Commission is a valuable forum for resolving compliance issues and possible ambiguities in interpretation, when the United States aggressively pursues them. For example, in the case of the expanded pattern of Soviet concealment activities, vigorous pursuit by the U.S. of this issue in the Standing Consultative Commission helped the expansion.

Therefore, the United States must expect that unauthorized Soviet activities may occur during the course of the SALT II treaty and be willing to raise and aggressively pursue questions of Soviet compliance with the treaty in the Standing Consultative Commission, which will play an even more significant role during SALT II.

## B. The Degree to Which United States SALT II Negotiating Positions Were Based on Monitoring Capabilities

The committee has also reviewed in detail the substance and process of SALT II diplomatic negotiations to see how the need for effective monitoring was factored into the actual negotiations in Geneva and elsewhere. Members of the committee have gone to Geneva repeatedly to observe firsthand the negotiation process, paying particular attention to monitoring questions. We have also examined the diplomatic record of these negotiations, the historical record of the SALT I and ABM Treaties and the proceedings of the Standing Consultative Commission in order better to understand Soviet SALT behavior and the monitoring record concerning those agreements. We have also studied the specific verification provisions of the SALT II treaty and protocol and have made our own judgments as to the monitoring requirements of these provisions.

The committee has reviewed the extent to which the provisions of the

SALT II accords contribute to monitoring compliance. There are provisions which enhance our monitoring capability; there are other provisions which reduce monitoring difficulties; and there are provisions which impose very different monitoring burdens.

## C. Providing the Necessary Resources for the United States Monitoring System

Although our national reconnaissance system is complex and comprehensive, some of its components are fragile. In order to be effective, sufficient backup and redundancy must be provided for the system.

In order to provide these resources a very high budget priority must be given to the intelligence community's system, as well as to processing and analysis functions.

## D. Improved Analysis

The Soviet's unanticipated ability to employ the much larger SS-19 in a slightly enlarged SS-11 site circumvented the safeguards the United States thought it had obtained in SALT I against the substitution of heavy for light ICBMs. Similarly, the range of the SS-9 missile on the Delta class Soviet ballistic-missile submarine was greater than expected. This reduced the significance of the Soviet's geographical disadvantage, "on the basis of which we concluded to the Soviets that United States intelligence would make every effort to minimize intelligence surprises. Recognizing that predicting the future is a very difficult if not impossible task, the committee recommends the following:

Soviet SALT negotiating strategy and tactics should be exhaustively studied for hints about future developments which the Soviets may have been trying to protect. On the basis of this analysis, "warning signs" should be formulated whose appearance would alert the analyst to the possibility the Soviets are taking unexpected steps in their weapons-development program.

Various possible Soviet "cheating scenarios" should be developed, using technical experts outside the intelligence community who have been given briefings containing information about U.S. intelligence sources and methods roughly comparable to what the Soviets may be expected to possess. On the basis of these scenarios, similar "warning signs" should be formulated.

Competitive analysis, reflecting a full range of expert points of view, should be conducted periodically on important topics in Soviet strategic-weapons developments. The results should be analyzed to provide "warning signs" and to suggest collection strategies which would minimize the differences and uncertainties.

## E. Congressional Oversight

It is clear from the SALT I record that intelligence of possible Soviet violation of the treaty was, in some cases, and for a time, withheld from executive branch officials who had a need for such information. Lacking an over-



President Carter and Defense Secretary Harold Brown at the White House Thursday before the President discussed the arms treaty with the Soviet Union. At a White House briefing, the President said it is "highly likely that we will develop the military portion of our budget early enough" to give the Senate a good idea of its contents before a vote on the treaty.

sight committee for intelligence matters, the Congress was not supplied the intelligence information on SALT I monitoring.

In the course of the hearings held by the committee on the SALT I monitoring record, the responsible officials in the intelligence community were asked if they would "fully and currently" supply to the committee intelligence on the monitoring of SALT II treaty provisions, as required by S. Res. 400 and by Executive Order 12086. The Director of Central Intelligence, the Director of the National Security Agency and the Director of D.I.A. (Defense Intelligence Agency) have said they understood it was their duty to do so. Procedures for handling such reporting have already been established by the committee.

Other committees of the Senate with the task of SALT II oversight are the

Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed Services Committee. Under S. Res. 400, the Select Committee on Intelligence is obliged to keep these committees informed of any intelligence information that might be of significance in carrying out their mandated duties.

The committee wishes to point out that monitoring compliance with the new strategic arms agreement is only the first step in the SALT II process. The capability to determine whether the Soviets had violated the SALT II agreement would be of little consequence if at the same time the United States did not have the will and determination to pursue an aggressive verification policy.

In order to assure effective oversight of monitoring of SALT II, the committee finds that the Select Committee on Intelligence should be kept fully and currently informed on all intelligence concerns with the monitoring of the SALT II treaty. The committee understands that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee informed of any significant information affecting their mandated duties. Further, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence should have a detailed intelligence annex, to be maintained under the security provisions of S. Res. 400, along with the semiannual monitoring report supplied by A.C.D.A. (Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee.

## F. Evaluation of the Ability of the United States to Monitor the SALT II Treaty

The committee's examination of the United States monitoring capabilities shows that, under current Soviet practices, most counting provisions can be monitored with high or high-moderate confidence. Monitoring qualitative

limitations on weapons systems is a far more difficult task and is dependent on the collective capability of a large number of systems. In general these qualitative limitations present some problems but most can, in balance, be monitored with high to moderate confidence. There are some provisions of the treaty which can be monitored with only a low level of confidence.

The committee also finds that the present capabilities of the national reconnaissance system could be degraded by the use of changed practices on the part of the Soviet Union and through concealment and deception. Some of these changed practices would be permitted under the treaty; other changed practices which involve deliberate concealment and deception would constitute serious violations of the treaty. The impact of these changed practices permitted under the treaty may decrease our confidence in our ability to monitor counting provisions, and a combination of such changed practices could greatly complicate our task of monitoring those provisions involving qualitative limitations.

Overall, the committee finds that the SALT II treaty enhances the ability of the United States to monitor these components of Soviet strategic-weapons forces which are subject to the limitations of the treaty. The treaty permits measures short of "deliberate concealment" which could impede monitoring, and does not indicate what types of collection systems are to be considered national technical means. In the absence of the SALT II treaty, however, the Soviets would be free to take more sweeping measures, such as unrestricted concealment and deception, which could make monitoring these strategic forces still more difficult.

The terms "high," "high-moderate," "moderate" and "low" refer to the monitoring measures (in terms of qualitative measures of probability of detection) and do not suggest the military significance of the resulting intelligence uncertainties.

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**Against Fidel Castro**

By the Associated Press

More than 3,000 anti-Castro Cubans gathered in the United Nations today to demand that the United Nations take action against the island state. The United Nations was not expected to accept but did not reject the small group of its supporters also who were on hand.

Police men kept the two factions out of each other's way. There were no deaths or incidents were reported. A six-man uniformed policeman was in readiness to arrest anyone who broke the rules.

Six organizations from the metropolitan area had planned the largest demonstration on the strength of speculation that the Cuban people would visit the United Nations during the day to attend the General Assembly.

The organizers decided to go ahead with the anti-Castro protest even after it became apparent that it would not be there. They had forecast a gathering of 20,000.

**Israeli Paper Hires Timerman**

TEL AVIV, Oct. 5 (Reuters) — Jacob Timerman, the Argentine editor fired by the New York Times after more than two years under house arrest, has joined the staff of the Israeli newspaper, the paper announced today.

By The Associated Press

More than 3,000 anti-Castro Cubans demonstrated outside the United Nations today against the island's ruler, who had been expected to appear but did not. A smaller group of his supporters also were on hand.

Police kept the two factions out of sight and earshot of one another, and no arrests or incidents were reported. A reserve mounted policeman was in reserve in the area, but were not needed. Six organizations from the metropolitan area had planned the larger demonstration on the strength of speculation that Mr. Castro would visit the United Nations during the day to attend the General Assembly session. The organisers decided to go ahead with the anti-Castro protest even after it

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TEL AVIV, Oct. 5 (Reuters) — Jacobo Timerman, the Argentine editor freed and sent abroad last week after more than two years under house arrest, has joined the staff of the Israeli newspaper Ha'ariv, the paper announced today.

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